

**FRAMING PALESTINE: NEWS FRAMING OF UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS  
ON PALESTINE IN U.S. AND BRITISH NEWSPAPERS, 1993-2017**

**by**

**Dalal Radwan**

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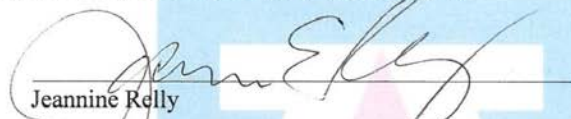
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As members of the Master's Committee, we certify that we have read the thesis prepared by Dalal Radwan, titled "Framing Palestine: News Framing of United Nations Resolutions on Palestine in U.S. and British Newspapers, 1993-2017," and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the thesis requirement for the Master's Degree.

  
Jeannine Relly

Date: 5-2-19

  
Linda Lumsden

Date: 5/2/19

  
Margaret Zanger


Date: 5/2/19

  
Maha Nassar

Date: 5/2/19

Final approval and acceptance of this thesis is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copies of the thesis to the Graduate College.

We hereby certify that we have read this thesis prepared under our direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the Master's requirement.

  
Jeannine Relly  
Master's Thesis Committee Co-Chair  
School of Journalism

Date: 5/2/19

  
Linda Lumsden  
Master's Thesis Committee Co-Chair  
School of Journalism

Date: 5/2/19

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## **Dedication**

my family, for your love and support

Mama, thank you for always reminding me to take care of myself and give my best

## **Table of Contents**

<b>List of Tables</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>List of Figures</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Abstract</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Background</b>	<b>12</b>
The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict and the United Nations	12
<b>Literature Review</b>	<b>18</b>
Media Framing Theory	18
Studies of U.S. News Coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict	19
Comparisons with Israeli News Frames	21
Studies of British coverage	23
Studies of Coverage by News Media of Other Nations	24
<b>Research Question</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>Method and Coding</b>	<b>26</b>
Newspapers and Date Ranges Selected	26
ProQuest Global Newsstream Database	28
Threat or Fear Frame	29
Human Rights Frame	29
War and / or Peace Frame	30
Victimhood Frame	31
Denial Frame	32
Mutual Justice	32
Other	33
<b>Tone</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>Findings</b>	<b>35</b>
Coverage Over the Years	35
Coverage Dispersed Among Newspapers	36
<b>Frames</b>	<b>37</b>
News Frames Dispersed among all newspapers	38
War and Peace Frame	39
Human Rights Frame	40
Threat / Fear Frame	41
Other Frames	41
Denial Frame	42
Mutual Justice Frame	43
Victimhood Frame	43

<b>Tone</b>	44
<b>Dominant Sources</b>	44
<b>Intercoder Reliability</b>	45
<b>Discussion</b>	46
<b>Limitations and Future Studies</b>	49
<b>Conclusion</b>	50
<b>APPENDIX A— CODE BOOK</b>	51
<b>APPENDIX B — UN DOCUMENTS ADOPTED FOR PALESTINE AND ISRAEL</b>	57
<b>APPENDIX C — TABLES AND FIGURES</b>	61
<b>References</b>	66

## List of Tables

Table 1 Numbers of cases and percent of frames in articles.....	38
Table 2 Number of cases and percent of news frames among news outlets.....	38
Table 3 Frequency and Percent of Tone .....	44
Table 4 Frequency and Percent of Sources.....	45

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Number of news articles published by U.S. and British newspapers 1993-2017. ....	36
Figure 2 Percentage of news articles published by each newspaper. ....	37



## **Abstract**

This qualitative content analysis analyzes how a census of 124 articles retrieved from two elite U.S. and two elite British newspapers framed United Nations resolutions regarding Palestine between the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993 through 2017. Among the findings is that the two U.S. newspapers (*The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*) published about twice as many articles on UN Palestinian resolutions than did the two British newspapers – *The Guardian* and *The Times of London*. The major finding is that the “war-and peace” frame strongly dominated coverage in all four periodicals, appearing more than twice as often as the next most common frame in *The Times* and *The Guardian* in the United Kingdom and *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* in the United States. The study also found that, in contrast to previous studies, most reporting was neutral across all four periodicals.

**Keywords:** United Nations, framing, Palestine, Israeli-Palestinian conflict, newspapers.

## Introduction

Hundreds of United Nations (UN) Security Council and General Assembly resolutions have shaped and influenced Palestine, beginning in 1947 with UN Resolution 181 that ended Great Britain's mandate to oversee the territory (Ross-Nazzal, 2008). These many UN resolutions have received much global news media attention over the past 70 years, as Palestine's very existence has proven contentious. Studies of media coverage of the perpetual conflict in Palestine, its political future, and reports of human rights abuses by Israel show that news media coverage has been an important factor in influencing political and public attitudes about the disputed territory (Baden and Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2017; Noakes and Wilkins, 2002; Stawicki, 2009; Khalidi, 2014; Donohue and Druckman, 2009).

This study builds on previous works by offering a transnational, longitudinal content analysis of how four major newspapers in the United States and Great Britain framed UN resolutions related to Palestine from 1993 through 2017. Those dates are significant because UN Resolutions 242 and 338 in 1993 laid the foundations for the "Oslo Accords," which established a five-year Palestinian Interim Self-Government in West Bank and Gaza as part of a U.S.-backed peace plan. This qualitative content analysis concludes with coverage on December 28, 2017, a week after the United States vetoed a draft UN resolution that condemned newly elected President Donald Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital and his pledge to move the U.S. Embassy there from Tel Aviv. Media coverage of the resolutions is important because they provided real substance for global discussions centering around Palestine and the conflict. During the period studied, the UN adopted 17 General Assembly resolutions and 14 Security Council resolutions (Security Council Report, n.d.).<sup>1</sup> UN Security Council resolutions play an

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix 2 for table of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions.

integral role in maintaining support for Palestinian statehood and condemnation of Israeli occupation policies, according to Graubart and Jimenez-Bacardi (2016, p. 41). They say that vetoed UN resolutions provide an insight into how they exert influence and why actors expend political energy on submitting resolutions they know will be vetoed (2016, p. 40).

The study looks at British and American newspapers as both nations have played key roles in shaping public perception and influencing political solutions on the question of Palestinian sovereignty and related issues. The study relies on framing theory to illuminate how coverage by *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* in the United States compared 24 years with coverage by *The Times of London* and *The Guardian* in Great Britain. Although a substantial body of research exists on a range of transnational media outlets' coverage, most previous studies have focused on conflict coverage.

This study is significant for several reasons: it is the first to explore news framing of UN Security Council resolutions and General Assembly resolutions regarding Palestine; it investigates coverage over a much longer period of time than previous studies, and it compares news frames in two leading American newspapers with those in two leading British newspapers. It considered six news media frames in a census of 124 articles: war and peace, human rights, threat or fear, victimhood, denial, and mutual justice, as well as "other" frames not initially categorized. It also considered the articles' dominant tone and sources. Findings suggest the newspapers emphasized the UN's attempt to find a peaceful solution to the Palestinian question, as the war-and-peace frame demonstrated dramatically dominant across all four newspapers, appearing more than twice as often as the next most common frame, human rights. Another major finding is that the tone of coverage was mostly neutral, in contrast to past findings. When bias did appear in the articles, it showed similar amounts of bias toward and against both Israel

and Palestine. The study also found that Palestinian and Israeli representatives, officials and others appeared the most frequently as sources in all four periodicals, which suggests the two entities were first to respond to UN resolutions. Finally, the results reiterate previous studies that conclude coverage of Palestine is diverse and has many frames.

The thesis begins with historical background that helps explain Palestine's unique political situation. A literature review that explains framing theory and how it has been applied to media studies, particularly news coverage of Palestine, contextualizing the research question: how did leading newspapers in two English-speaking nations with strong ties to the issue cover UN resolutions regarding Palestine 1993-2017? The findings and discussion detail the major trends that emerged from the content analysis. The thesis concludes with recommendations for future research, among which are suggestions to compare the study results with coverage of UN resolutions on Palestine by news media in other nations or on additional news platforms.

## **Background**

### **The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict and the United Nations**

"Palestine" itself is much-debated. The UN General Assembly first proposed the Partition Plan after intensive debates in 1947 (United Nations, 1990). The origins of conflict can be traced to the adoption of UN Resolution 181 on November 29, 1947 (Falah, 1996, p. 261), which ended British control and created the Arab and Jewish states. Ever since that day, decisions about the fate of Palestine's Arab population have been delegated to others speaking and deciding for the Palestinians (Tomeh, 1974). According to Tomeh, the question of Palestine changed over the years and "became one of resistance, of a people struggling to regain its just rights," (1974, p. 27). Resolution 181 addressed questions of citizenship, transit and the economic union, and access to religious places for both Arab and Jewish citizens (United Nations, 1990). While

Jewish representatives accepted the plan, with reservations over matters pertaining to emigration, Palestinian Arabs and Arab states refused to accept it. The resolution called for increasing Jewish landholdings from about 7 percent of Palestinian land to 55 percent, while placing 42 percent of the Palestinian population under the control and sovereignty of the Jewish state. On May 14, 1948, the State of Israel proclaimed its establishment. As the last British troops left on May 15, 1948, neighboring Arab troops entered the Arab area of the Palestinian territory, launching the first Arab-Israeli war (United Nations, 1980). The 1950s witnessed the establishment of the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) to oversee the welfare of 960,000 Palestinian refugees (UNRWA, para. 2). The UN recognized the refugees' right to return to their homeland with Resolution 194 on December 11, 1948 (Hammond, 2016, pp. 81-82).

Tensions between Israel and its Arab neighbors culminated in the Six Day War in June 1967. The war gave Israel more control over Palestinian land, forcing 500,000 Palestinians to flee to Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan (BBC News, n.d., para. 6). Israel controlled key areas of the Sinai Peninsula, Gaza Strip, West Bank, the Old City of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights (editors of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2018). Conflict escalated in the occupied areas. The UN introduced Resolution 242 in late 1967 in search of a peaceful solution in which Israeli forces would withdraw from territories and acknowledge the right of Palestinians to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries (United Nations, 1967). The resolution failed, however, an example of how the UN's ambiguous approach has exacerbated the conflict instead of producing peace, according to Caplen (2004, p. 737). While the resolution provided for Arab state recognition of Israel's legitimacy and secured borders, he notes, it referred to neither Palestine nor Israel (2004, p. 736). The resolution "marked a significant failure for Palestinians: the resolution reified the elision of Palestinian peoplehood and their right to self-determination

marked by Israel's establishment in 1948" (Erakat, 20147, p. 19). The failed resolution shifted attention to the question of what kind of representation and power should be accorded to Palestine at the UN (Tomeh, 1974, p. 30).

The Palestine Liberation Organization headed by the late President Yasser Arafat appeared at the United Nations General Assembly in 1974 to call upon the international community to recognize the Palestinian cause (United Nations, 1974). UN Resolution 3236 approved on November 22, 1974, asserted that the Palestinian people were entitled to self-determination in accordance with the UN Charter. Negotiations over the West Bank and Gaza Strip took a different route when Egypt and Israel signed the U.S.-backed Camp David peace accord in November 1978. The agreement presented a formula for Palestinian "autonomy" in the West Bank and Gaza, while Israel would be allowed to retain ultimate political and military control over those areas.

Several events in the late 1980s derailed the peace process, including continuous violations by Israel of UN policies and continued settlements in the occupied territories. In response, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 465 on March 1, 1980, which charged that, "Israel's policies and practices of settling parts of its population and new immigrants in those territories constitute a flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention."<sup>2</sup> In 1987, the First Intifada in the West Bank and Gaza Strip that protested the deaths of four Palestinians struck by an Israeli jeep in Gaza's Jabaliya refugee camp, added urgency for passage of a resolution (Hussein, 2017). The Intifada also brought international media attention to the Palestinian cause (Noakes and Wilkins, 2002). Israeli fatalities from the start of the intifada until the signing of the Oslo

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<sup>2</sup> Security Council Resolution No. 465, Adopted by the Security Council at its 2203rd meeting. S/RES/ 465 (1980). (March 1, 1980). Available from <https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/5AA254A1C8F8B1CB852560E50075D7D5>

Accords were about “150 Israelis are killed by Palestinians, including about 100 civilians”(IMEU, 2012, para. 4), while Palestinian fatalities surpassed the record 1,376 Palestinians killed by Israeli security forces in the Occupied Territories including East Jerusalem in the First Intifada (B’TSELEM, n.d.).

The Oslo Accords were established with the hope of laying foundations for peace between Palestinians and Israelis, brokered by the United States (Beauchamp, 2018). The Accords, first signed in 1993 and again in 1995, were basically an agreement to establish a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. The Accords further “specified that bilateral negotiations were the only viable path to Palestinian statehood” (Rudoren, 2015). The Accords introduced a “notable period of de-escalation” after PLO and Israeli officials agreed on a Declaration of Principles in September 1993 (Donohue and Druckman, 2009). Article I of the Accords stated:<sup>3</sup>

The aim of the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations within the current Middle East peace process is, among other things, to establish a Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority, the elected Council (the “Council”), for the Palestinian people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, for a transitional period not exceeding five years, leading to a permanent settlement based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.<sup>4</sup>

Passage of the first and second Oslo Accords, however, did not end the conflict. The Second Intifada broke out in 2000 when future Israel Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, then the hawkish Likud party leader, toured Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem (Goldenberg, 2000). The United States unsuccessfully tried to negotiate a ceasefire. Clashes continued in Palestine, resulting in curfews, road closures, and deaths of civilians. In 2002, Israeli forces kept Arafat

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<sup>3</sup> Declaration of Principles on Interim Self- Government Arrangement (Oslo Accords), available from [https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/IL%20PS\\_930913\\_DeclarationPrinciplesnterimSelf-Government%28Oslo%20Accords%29.pdf](https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/IL%20PS_930913_DeclarationPrinciplesnterimSelf-Government%28Oslo%20Accords%29.pdf)

<sup>4</sup> Security Council Resolution 242, *Middle East*, S/RES/242-1967, (November 22, 1967), available from <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/242>; Security Council Resolution 338, *Cease-Fire in Middle East*, S/RES/338- 1973, (October 22, 1973), available from [https://undocs.org/S/RES/338\(1973\)](https://undocs.org/S/RES/338(1973))

confined in his office in Ramallah while it sent tanks to occupy larger areas in the West Bank (Lancaster and Hockstader, 2002). President George W. Bush pressured the Palestinians to replace Arafat in exchange for U.S. support of an independent Palestinian state (Bumiller and Sanger, 2002). A summit of heads of Arab nations in Beirut concluded with a collective offer of peace to Israel if 1.) Israel withdrew from Arab lands captured since 1967, 2.) created a Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital, and 3.) devised a "fair solution" for resettling 3.8 million Palestinian refugees (Al Jazeera and Agencies, 2018).

The Israeli army's Operation Defensive Shield in 2002 was followed by Israeli government approval of the construction of a massive wall that isolated Palestinian communities (Whitaker, 2002). Israel also began annexing Palestinian land near Jerusalem. The UN condemned<sup>5</sup> the wall but failed to pass a draft resolution in October 2003. Later in 2003, the United States presented a road map to peace that suggested "benchmarks to settle a Palestinian state that lives in peace with Israel" (Otterman, 2005). The United States favored Palestinians directly negotiating with the Israelis, and Bush called for Palestinians to replace Arafat with a leader not "compromised by terror" (ABC News, 2002). With escalating violence since September 2002, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1397 on March 12, 2002, to affirm "a vision of a region where two States, Israel and Palestine, live side by side within secure and recognized borders."<sup>6</sup> The UN continued to monitor the situation. The General Assembly passed Resolution 66/17 on November 30, 2011, which stated that "achieving a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement of the question of Palestine, the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict, is

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<sup>5</sup> Secretary Council Resolution 980. *Draft resolution on the construction by Israel of a wall in the Occupied Territories departing from the armistice line of 1949*. S/RES/980-2003. (October 14, 2003). Available from <https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/A00015D72CB20AC285256DBF0072AF4C>

<sup>6</sup> Security Council Resolution 1397. The situation in the Middle East including the Palestinian question. (September 12, 2002), available from <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/1397>



imperative for the attainment of comprehensive and lasting peace and stability in the Middle East”.<sup>7</sup> The resolution reaffirmed the illegality of the Israeli settlements and reiterated the Palestinian people’s right to establish their independent state.

Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas addressed the UN in 2011 to request that the Palestinian state be granted full membership in the UN. Despite Israeli objections, 138 nations favored the plan, and Palestine obtained “observer” status at the UN on November 29, 2012 (MacAskill & McGreal, 2012). This status entitled Palestine to participate in the work of the UN General Assembly with limitations. In 2012, Resolution 67/19 approved “the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to independence in their State of Palestine on the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967.”<sup>8</sup> It further affirmed “its determination to contribute to the achievement of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the attainment of a peaceful settlement in the Middle East that ends the occupation that began in 1967.”

Israelis and Palestinians resumed peace talks in Washington, D.C., on July 29, 2013 (Sherwood, 2013). Major sticking points included the future of Israeli settlements on the West Bank, the status of Jerusalem, and the fate of Palestinian refugees (BBC, 2013). Israel Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu was thought to be acting under heavy pressure from U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry, who brokered the negotiations and invested months of intensive diplomacy to get talks underway (Sherwood, 2013). The Obama Administration signaled further support for Palestine in 2016, when the United States abstained from a December 23 vote on a UN resolution to end Israeli settlements, which allowed the measure to pass 14-0 (Stanglin, 2016). UN Resolution 2334 demanded that Israel immediately cease all settlement construction

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<sup>7</sup> General Assembly Resolution No. 66/17, The Situation in the Middle East, A/66/PV. 69, (November 30, 2011), available from <https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/3808D1E1D5615372852579D000525AF0>

<sup>8</sup> General Assembly Resolution No. 67/19. Status of Palestine in the United Nations, A/RES/67/19, available from <https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/19862D03C564FA2C85257ACB004EE69B>

in the occupied Palestinian territories, including East Jerusalem.<sup>9</sup> In February 2017, however, Israel passed a law legalizing some 4,000 settlements in the West Bank (BBC, 2017). The controversial law appeared amid escalating settlement expansion and coincided with the election of President Donald Trump. As the BBC reported, “Emboldened by a new administration it sees as a more sympathetic, Israel's government has advanced plans for thousands of new settler homes” (BBC, 2017).

The Trump Administration dramatically changed U.S. policy toward resolving the Palestinian question when the president pledged to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel (Aljazeera, 2017). On December 18, 2017, the United States vetoed a UN Security Council draft resolution condemning the United States’ recognition of Jerusalem as Israel’s capital, effectively killing the resolution. On December 21, 2017, the UN General Assembly held an emergency session and called upon all nations to refrain from the establishment of diplomatic missions in the Holy City of Jerusalem in accordance with the 37-year-old Council Resolution 478 (1980), which asserted Jerusalem’s status must be resolved through negotiations in accordance with relevant UN resolutions.

## **Literature Review**

### **Media Framing Theory**

Framing theory provides the major theoretical framework for this study. Scholar Robert Entman (1993) played a leading role in introducing framing theory to media studies. Entman examined contextual elements that contribute to shaping perceptions of messages. Entman explained that: “to frame is to select aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in

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<sup>9</sup> Security Council Resolution No. 2334, *draft by Egypt and adopted by the Security Council at its 7853<sup>rd</sup> session*. S/RES/2334 (2016). (December 23, 2016). Available from <http://www.un.org/webcast/pdfs/SRES2334-2016.pdf>

communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and/ treatment recommendation for the item described” (p. 52). Several media components play roles in framing events and issues. “Word choices, headline sizes, rhetorical devices, positioning of articles, selection of articles published, or sources quoted—or not” impact the messages that text or imagery send to an audience (Lumsden, 2014, p. 6). Entman (1991) suggested that “frames reside in the specific properties of the news narrative that encourage those perceiving and thinking about events to develop particular understandings of them” (p. 7). Entman argued that frames make some information more salient and “more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences” (1993, p. 53).

According to Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), language and thought are essential to framing. Framing suggests that the representation of ideas along with the understanding of the different factors that shape them allows for a comprehensive consideration of these ideas (Gurevitch & Levy, 1986). Framing is a necessary tool for journalists to reduce the complexity of an issue, given the constraints of their media outlets. This plays a major role in framing certain ideologies and advancing them among people, to create specific patterns that frame mindsets.

#### Studies of U.S. News Coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Studies indicate a range of sometimes conflicting news frames in U.S. coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Dunsky (2001), for example, found that *Washington Post* coverage was critical of the Bush Administration’s response to the conflict, the *Los Angeles Times* tried to provide a fresh angle on the story, the *Chicago Tribune* was straightforward and clear, and the *New York Times* served as the U.S. government’s voice. Dunsky argued news media serve as agents of the status quo by choosing not to address the direct impact of U.S. foreign policy on the conflict (Dunsky, 2001, p. 24). Her study is among several that have explored coverage by the

*Times* or the *Post*. Ross found that *New York Times* editorials devalued Palestinian suffering after 9/11. Recognition of Palestinians' humanity was rare (Ross, 2003, p. 13), while Israeli humanity was emphasized, and Israelis' victimization dominated news frames (p. 14). Viser (2003) concluded that *New York Times*' coverage relied more on Israeli sources to report the news. "Compared with *Ha'aretz* [a liberal Israeli newspaper], the *Times*' coverage provides a more one-sided version of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict" (p. 118).

In contrast, Noakes and Wilkins concluded that as news of the Palestinian cause increased with the beginning of the Second Intifada (2000-2005), news framing of Palestinians became more positive (2002, p. 664). "The rise of the Intifada provided the drama necessary for U.S. news media to begin covering the Palestinians with greater frequency" (p. 665). During the Intifada, Palestinians were less likely to be characterized as terrorists, violent or militants as well as less likely to be victims (p. 665). Moufawad et al. faulted the *New York Times*' failure to report on Palestinian fatalities during the Second Intifada, stating a "blatant omission of information is a form of disinformation" (2006, p. 39). The *Times* focused on Israeli casualties, which created a "humanization" process that made readers more empathetic with them than with Palestinians. Israel was framed as a weaker, yet righteous victim fighting Palestinian aggression (2006, p. 40). Both CNN and FoxNews practiced media manipulation to serve American ideological and political purposes in their coverage of a 2014 conflict in Gaza, according to Alkalliny, who concluded their coverage was "more sympathetic to Israel" and "biased and non-objective" to Palestinians (2017, p. 162).

Ismail (2008) determined that U.S. news media constructed Palestinian political violence during the Second Intifada as a fight over land (p.195). Limited news coverage relied on strategies to simplify "the remote, complicated conflict at the cost of providing sufficient,

meaningful context,” (p. 196), raising questions about the media’s role as agents of social control and influence. Stawicki found that the frame of the Israeli government’s “quest for security” dominated 2000 coverage, while the military “strong bullies” frame was most used in the 2002 coverage. The intensification of violence by 2002 resulted in a tone of despair that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict could never be resolved, and the conflict began to be framed as “relentlessly ethnic” (p. 680). *New York Times*’ coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict between 2009 and 2011 depicted an “unconscious projection of cultural expectations of the dominant groups in the discursive representation of the conflict” (Roy, 2012, p. 556), which effectively “discursively ‘othered’” the Palestinians (p. 568). American journalists made only small changes at best in their news coverage in response to criticism by Palestine Media Watch, according to Handley, who argued that media outlets used “balancing media criticism” as a strategy to present journalism as adequately covering the conflict (Handley, 2012, p. 142).

Previous studies of U.S. news coverage of the Palestine question Israel indicate that Israel was represented more positively and more frequently than Palestine, which was underrepresented. Historical incidents such as the First and Second Intifada attracted more U.S. news media attention, which framed Palestine negatively. These studies will help guide this analysis of U.S. and British news coverage of UN resolutions regarding Palestine.

#### Comparisons with Israeli News Frames

Scholars also have compared coverage of Israel-Palestine conflict by U.S. and Israeli news media. The New York Times coverage of the First Intifada emphasized Palestinians’ injuries and suffering, fostering an “injustice and defiance frame,” according to Wolfsfeld, who concluded that the *Times*’ frame won over the Israelis’ “law and order frame” (1997, p. 168). Israeli newspapers tried to tell their readers “‘what is happening to us’ while American

newspapers tried to answer, ‘what is happening to them’” (1997, p. 156). Both Israel and U.S. television coverage of the First Intifada, according to Liebes (1992), varied differently with their “framing mechanisms.” The “our / their war” principles show discrepancies between coverage of the Gulf War and the Intifada, indicating that “journalists’ treatment of their own country’s war is different from the way they handle other people’s wars” (Liebes, 1992, p. 54). Israeli coverage, for instance, displayed minimized human damages to the Palestinians and Israeli victims as more likely to be civilians than soldiers, and deaths on the Palestinian side were scarcely displayed. American television showed more destruction and more Israeli victims. According to Cohen and Wolfsfeld (1993), Israeli journalists tended to cover the Intifada differently than foreign reporters. Cultural distance, resulting “from the different sets of goals each side is trying to accomplish,” helps explain the conflicting news frames (1993, p. xix). Palestinians framed the Intifada as an injustice, while Israelis framed it as a question of law and order (1993, p. xxiv).

Rinnawi’s (2007) content analysis of two major Hebrew newspapers, *Yediot Ahronot* and *Ha’aretz*, suggested that mainstream media in Israel are biased against Palestinians. The publications “delegitimize the Palestinians and legitimize the actions of the Israeli government,” and seemed to “reproduce ethnic stereotypes that perpetuate inequality and oppression among the Palestinians” (Rinnawi, 2007, p.175). One of the few studies that moved beyond conflict reporting compared Israeli and Palestinian media framing of the 1993 handshake between Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Arafat on the White House lawn upon the signing of Oslo Accords. Frames varied in accordance with media understanding of the interactional communication practices of Israeli Jews and Palestinians. Jewish-Israeli media perceptions of the handshake were “highly-politicized” (Milstein and Manusov, 2007, p. 359) both as a positive

cultural movement and, mainly in the first few days, less positively as “inevitable or unimaginable” (p. 360).

Siddiqui and Zaheer (2018) studied 50 years of Israeli- Palestinian coverage in five major U.S. newspapers and found that the American mainstream media coverage of the conflict favored and supported Israel over Palestine (p. 2). According to Siddiqui and Zaheer, the U.S. coverage focused on Israeli narratives both in its “quantity of coverage as well as overall sentiment, as conveyed by headlines” (2018, P.15). Palestinians, however, remained “consistently underrepresented” with negative coverage. The study concluded that these results appear “to be a systematic problem in coverage, rather than a result of deliberate planned bias” (p.15).

Previous studies comparing Israeli and U.S. media coverage of the conflict demonstrate the Israeli news media’s narrative of Israel as victim of the conflict. U.S. coverage was biased toward Israel, and underrepresented the Palestinian perspective. These studies will help provide this research with a foundation for comparing U.S. and Palestinian news frames of UN resolutions regarding Palestine.

#### Studies of British coverage

Previous studies of British media coverage have found it biased toward Israel. Downey et al. (2006) found that BBC journalists gave more attention to Israeli fatalities than to Palestinian fatalities. The BBC did not provide historical background in their reporting and overlooked some important themes, most notably in the recent period of the annexation of land in and around East Jerusalem (p. 87). Thomas (2011) likewise found BBC 1 and Channel 4 noticeably biased towards Israel; both framed the withdrawal from Gaza as an intra-Israeli trauma. British media prioritized the Gaza withdrawal by making it either the lead story or the second item. Coverage

failed to provide substantial information about the illegality of settlements and Israel's land expansion. Wang's media discourse analysis of orientalism and colonialism in the *Guardian* and the *Telegraph*'s coverage of stabbings concluded that Palestinians were dehumanized and represented as unworthy victims and violent initiators, while Israelis were framed positively to justify Israel's occupation and actions against the Palestinians (2017, p. 88-89). Fahmy and Eakin contrasted news frames of the Mavi Marmara incident in the *Guardian*, *New York Times* and *Haaretz* (2013).<sup>10</sup> The *Guardian* framed Israeli commandos as "bad guys," the *Times* emphasized the incident's impact on the U.S. Mideast foreign policy, and *Haaretz* connected passengers to terrorism (p. 101).

These previous studies show that British news media portrayed Palestinians as violent and Israelis as victims. British news failed to provide background on the conflict and gave more attention to Israelis and Israel than to Palestine and Palestinians. This paper will analyze whether British news coverage of UN resolutions continued these trends and will look at how British newspapers provided background about UN resolutions.

#### Studies of Coverage by News Media of Other Nations

Studies of coverage by news media based in other nations have found similarly conflicting frames. German media portrayal of Israeli actions during the Gaza War "was more negative than during the Second Intifada, and that of Palestinian actions, in contrast, not quite as negative as previously" (Kempf, 2012, p. 7). Dutch media framed Palestinians positively as "victims" in the First Intifada and framed Israelis negatively as an "occupying force" (Deprez and Raeymaeckers, 2010, p. 107), but in the Second Intifada, Palestinians were negatively represented as "perpetrators of acts of terror" while Israelis were the victims (p. 107). Segev and

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<sup>10</sup> See Roy, 2013.



Miesch (2011) determined British media to be the most critical of Israel, Italian media the most sensational, and the German, French and Swiss to be relatively neutral (p. 1947). The Middle Eastern-based Arabic language news outlets Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya tended to view Palestinians as victims and Israelis as aggressors, although Al-Jazeera positively framed Hamas but was critical of Egypt, the United States and the United Nations, and Al-Arabiya negatively framed Hamas and was sympathetic to Fatah, and positively framed Egypt, the United States and United Nations (Elmasry et al, 2013). Karniel et al (2016) found FOX News favored Israel over Palestine, the BBC and CNN were relatively balanced, and Al Jazeera Arabic was biased against Israel.

Conflict frames dominated coverage in four Southeast Asian newspapers (Ozohu-Suleiman and Ishak, 2014). The human-interest frame was more prevalent in Malaysian and Indonesian reporting, which portrayed Palestinians as victims of Israel. Thai news frames questioned the morality of Israeli aggression, while Philippine newspaper frames appeared slightly biased toward Israel. Yarchi (2014) studied the effect of female suicide attacks on foreign media framing of conflicts of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Baden and Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2017) saw trends toward convergence of coverage among countries of East and West. Most recently, however, Qasem and Hussein (2018) found that predictable biases persist in U.S. and Mideast news outlets. Al Jazeera dedicated greater coverage to the 2017 Al Aqsa Mosque/Temple Mount crisis and positively framed the Palestinians in contrast to CNN, which opted to selectively cover actions that framed Palestinians as terrorists. The study, however, identified “latent bias in both networks” (p. 33).

Studies of international news media show diverse news frames of the conflict. Although the studies include some positive representations of Palestine and Palestinians, they reveal that

news media generally have treated Israel and Palestine as equal powers. Israel not only tends to be framed as a victim but also receives more coverage. These previous studies will serve as empirical underpinnings to this study of how U.S. and British newspapers represented the UN resolutions.

### **Research Question**

This thesis builds on this substantial body of scholarly literature by addressing the following overarching research question: How did American and UK news media frame United Nations resolutions regarding Palestine from the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993 through the UN's response to President Trump's pledge to move the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem at the end of 2017?

### **Method and Coding**

#### **Newspapers and Date Ranges Selected**

News articles from two U.S. and two UK newspapers—the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, and the *Guardian* and the *Times of London*, respectively—were used to analyze coverage of the UN resolutions adopted regarding Palestine over the past 24 years. The study examined news coverage between September 13, 1993, when the first Oslo Accords were signed, and December 28, 2017, a week after the U.S. veto on December 21 of a UN Security Council draft resolution condemning U.S. recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital, effectively killing the resolution. This time period allowed the research to examine how key UN resolutions were reported over an extended period, both before and after significant UN resolutions. In addition, the extended time period allowed investigation of changes in media reporting on Palestine over a quarter century, which has not been researched in previous studies.

The four newspapers were chosen for several reasons. Both countries have had historical involvement and roles in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Hollis, 2016; Lipson, 1996). The diversity of these newspapers based on two continents, their influence on national and international coverage, and their interest in covering international news are critical to this study. All four were global leaders in news during the time period covered. Further, the four newspapers returned the greatest content of any news sources in a search of the ProQuest Global Newsstream digitized database using the following search terms grouped in the same search for each newspaper and placed alone in each search: “*united nations;*” (*resolutions for Palestin\**); (*United Nations General Assembly resolution\**); (*United Nations Security Council resolution\**).

*The Guardian* is regarded for its coverage of global news and bringing international news to readers at different levels (Balu, 2015; the *Guardian*, 2012). A December 2018 poll found it to be the most trusted of the UK’s “quality newsbrands,” including digital editions (“*Guardian Most Trusted*,” 2018). *The Times of London* has been “traditionally the newspaper of record in the UK” (Parry, 2010) and “revered as one of the world’s greatest global elite newspapers (James and Leman, 2014, p. 151). News articles were retrieved through the *Global Newsstream* database (ProQuest, 2018).<sup>11</sup> The *New York Times* enjoys a reputation of excellence for its coverage of global news (Noakes and Wilkins, 2002), with about thirty global news bureaus and some 200 foreign correspondents in 2017 (Virella, 2017). Both *Times* newspapers have wide influence on their respective continents and beyond (Kelly and Mitchell, 1981). Along with *The Guardian*, the publications are “from countries and cultural spheres that are closely linked to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict” (Baden and Tenenboim Weinblatt, 2017, p. 8). *The Washington Post*

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<sup>11</sup> *The Times of London*, pubid (33565), full text available from April 12, 1992 till present. Available from <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy2.library.arizona.edu/globalnews/publicationbrowse/70D8A5A3394044F8PQ/10?accountid=8360#scrollTo>

currently employs more than two dozen foreign correspondents in twenty bureaus around the world (“Foreign Correspondents,” n.d.).

#### ProQuest Global Newsstream Database

ProQuest Global Newsstream, which contains news articles from international, national, and regional newspapers with various coverage from early 1980s till present, was used to look up relevant articles in all four newspapers. Online searches used these keywords: “*united nations*,” “*resolutions for Palestin\**”; “*United Nations General Assembly resolution\**”; “*United Nations Security Council resolution\**”, from September 13, 1993, through December 28, 2017. To help narrow down the search and keep it consistent, I retrieved results that appeared under the “news” category.”<sup>12</sup>

A codebook was developed (See Appendix 1 for details about the variables and coding.). The qualitative content analysis is of a census of 124 news articles published within the targeted time frame that examined frames and themes pertaining to news media coverage of UN resolutions regarding Palestine. Article data mainly included years and published dates.

The dominant frame was the designation of the frame most repeated or highlighted in the article. To ascertain that, the study used frames modified from previous studies: Threat or Fear Frame (Manor and Crilley, 2018), Human Rights Frame (UN, n.d., para. 1), War and Peace Frame (Neumann and Fahmy, 2012), Victimhood Frame (Caplan, 2012), Denial Frame (Levin, 2007, Dual Liberation Frame (*also known as Mutual Justice Frame*) (Ross, 2003), and Other Frame. A dominant frame was determined by consideration of the article title and majority text in the general body of the article. If more than one frame emerged in the article, the researcher

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<sup>12</sup> Other results that came with the search were under *document type*, including but not limited to: Feature, articles, commentary, editorial, interview, review, and speech.

reviewed the article again to determine the most dominant. An extra column was added after the frame column on the coding sheet to show most dominant frame found in the articles.

In addition, the researcher coded the tone of the article (positive, negative and neutral) and this included coding tone related to Israel and Palestine in the articles.

#### Threat or Fear Frame (Manor and Crilley, 2018)

The frame looked at a UN resolution (or resolutions) as a source of threat to one of the parties involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Threats to Israel include resolutions that condemn Israel's settlement expansion or military actions. Threats to Palestine include statements about it not having the right to self-determination and becoming a recognized state. A threat or fear frame also would occur where there's more UN support for one country over the other in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. An example of support for Israel would be reporting when the UN votes against a Palestinian-affiliated party such as Hamas or the UN condemns Fatah or Hamas for their role against Israel. This could include reporting about Hamas, for example, firing rockets at Israel that destroy property and kill Israeli citizens, and being reprimanded for the action. Another example of a threat would be reporting when the UN states dissatisfaction with Israel for human rights or treaty violations or disadvantaging Palestinians. Other threats would include arrests of Palestinians, confiscation of land, and killing Palestinians.

#### Human Rights Frame

A human rights frame appeared when a story linked issues pertaining to the Israeli-Palestinians conflict to human rights. This frame emphasizes media coverage of UN resolutions on the Israel-Palestine conflict and focuses on Israeli and /or Palestinian human rights violations. The UN definition of human rights is used as a foundation: "Human rights are rights inherent to all human beings, regardless of race, sex, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, or any other

status. Human rights include the right to life and liberty, freedom from slavery and torture, freedom of opinion and expression, the right to work and education, and many more. Everyone is entitled to these rights, without discrimination” (UN, n.d., para. 1). Rights also may include freedom of movement, freedom to assemble, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom to redress grievances to a public authority, and freedom of information. Restricting mobility, closure or sieges of jurisdictions, administrative detention, and arrests and torture are some examples of human rights abuses. The news story also may provide information for readers about various human rights cases. Reporting about threats and/or violations to human rights would dominate the article for this frame. Here a majority of terms such as “human rights,” “violations,” “crimes against humanity,” where the UN resolution addresses actions as violations against human rights.

#### War and / or Peace Frame

Some publics may view various UN resolutions as exacerbating tensions between Palestine and Israel instead of fostering peace. An article describing an outcome that spawned violence was considered a “war frame.” A “war frame” would include when reports indicate the resolutions hindered peace talks or the peace process. A war frame also includes reporting focused on dead and wounded people and damage to property (Neumann and Fahmy, 2012, p.180). The language for a war frame also looks at indicators like suffering, violence, brutality, and other damages, for example, related to a conflict. The war frame also would position Israel or Israelis as occupiers and Palestine or the Palestinians as the occupied and report policies that may have played a role in violence. The frame looks at whether UN resolutions were followed by violence or foster peace between the sides of the conflict. Hence, the peace frame includes reporting about peace and /or security related to the UN resolutions. An example of a peace

frame is when UN resolutions related to the Israel-Palestine conflict are considered instrumental or foundations for peace talks or the peace process. The peace frame includes people-peacemakers, acts, or people promoting a ceasefire, reconciliation, rehabilitation, and/or resolution (Neumann and Fahmy, 2012, p. 182). Another possibility would be whether UN resolutions were perceived as neutralizing forces (neither spawning peace nor war). A dominant frame will be designated when the following dominates by most paragraphs in the entire article: majority characteristics of a war frame, majority characteristics of a peace frame, and neutral for characteristics equal for war and peace.

#### Victimhood Frame

This dominant frame focus is news reporting on UN resolutions that largely frame news related to victimhood of Palestinians or Israelis through bias toward one party over the other. A victimhood frame for Israel or Israelis would be when Israel is portrayed as a victim with referencing to the Holocaust. The victimhood frame also could focus on the victimization or manipulation of Jews by Nazis. It also could be reporting that focuses on countries in the region siding with or supporting Palestinians or that focuses largely on Israel's allies. Another example of victimhood is an emphasis in the reporting on what political parties like Hamas may do against Israelis. In addition, victimhood includes how Jews or Israelis are attacked in the name of antisemitism.

Victimhood of Palestinians includes examples of Palestinians suffering in the past or the present in the news report. A historical example is the 1948 war that led to the Nakba, when hundreds of thousands of Palestinian-Arabs fled (or were forced to leave) their homes. Other victimhood issues would include events of the 1967 war or challenged by Israel Palestinian national identity.

The frame would also reference the relationship between Israelis and Palestinians, such as how each side reacts to peace talks or the peace process from the perspective of occupier-and-occupied. Victimhood also refers to aspects of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: the claimed cause-and-effect, the occupier-occupied relationship, competition over which side's claim to victimhood is superior, or outsiders' (other countries like the U.K. or United States ) responses to the two sides in the conflict and their support of one side over the other (Caplan, 2012, p. 8). The frame will look at the following: majority of references report Israelis as victims, majority of references report Palestinians as victims, and equal number of references to Israelis and Palestinians as victims.

#### Denial Frame

This frame looks at how the different parties respond to UN votes that deny resolutions related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Levin, 2007, p. 86). A denial frame reports claims that the values of Palestinians are considered invalid by Israelis or supporters of Israel or a rejection of UN resolutions that would support Palestine positions. A denial frame also reflects the growth of opposition against Palestinians, or Israel or Israelis. An example of a denial frame also would be a veto or no vote against a resolution related to Palestine.

#### Mutual Justice

This frame refers to coverage of UN resolutions as promoting mutual justice for both sides of the conflict. Ross (2003) states this frame represents justice or compromise as the only just solution. This frame stems from both Palestinian and Israeli historical claims to the land and their rights to self-determination and safety. The frame will look at how UN resolution(s) framing supported or denied mutual justice for both Palestinians and Israelis. An example of mutual justice would be a UN resolution viewed as a promise to end the Israeli-Palestinian



conflict. UN resolutions would be advocating justice for Palestinians or Palestine as well as Israel or Israelis, with the recognition of both parties' historical claims and links to the land of Palestine, or, for instance, religious claims. News focused on a "two-state" solution also would be an example. The frame would also look at how UN resolutions compromise peace for both Palestinians and Israelis. The frequency of terms such as justice in an article would help determine if it is a dominant frame.

#### **Other**

This category is for articles' frames that don't fit under any of the other frame categories. If this category exceeds 10 percent of the census of articles, then items within "Other" would be reviewed for overarching frame themes to create other frame categories and provide content for future studies.

#### **Tone**

The dominant tone of the news in the articles will be analyzed as positive, negative or neutral, and will be determined by looking at all the paragraphs in each article. A positive tone contains supportive and favorable content or quotes or citations in the story to show positive attitude, agreement, understanding, hope, trust, success, excitement, applicability, cooperation, and belief. Negative tone includes opposing opinions, disbelief, disagreement, distrust, threat, fear, disappointment, and opinions that carry preference and favoritism of Palestine or Israel. The neutral tone includes articles that neither stand with nor against the conflict, UN resolutions, peace talks, and states facts and details without favoring or preference.

The analysis will consider the following words related to the responses or reactions to the UN General Assembly or Security Council resolutions. These words include but are not limited to: veto, condemn, control, worried, criticize, withdraw, renews, recognize, back, warn, voice. In

addition, the analysis will consider the responses for different UN resolutions from actors or subjects such as Israel, Palestine, U.S., UK, UN officials, and other parties that saw the resolutions advancing the peace process or supporting Palestine/Palestinians or favoring Israel/Israelis, or as not serving the peace process. The tone also considers UN, U.S., Palestinian, Israeli and other officials' (subjects') voices in the articles in response to the resolutions. If the number of tone references are even, I will consider the first referenced tone (either positive or negative) to be dominant in the news report.

A pre-test was conducted by the researcher on a random sample outside of the study period (March 2019) to ascertain that the codebook was clear and comprehensive. The codebook was revised and updated accordingly in April 2019, and the researcher coded the study articles ( $N = 124$ ) utilizing the codebook and study protocol. Briefs of fewer than 250 words were discarded.

After collecting all articles, the researcher went through them individually and read through the headline and leading paragraph, then skimmed through the rest of the article to make sure that researcher obtained the data needed for the research. This step helped discard all articles that did not mention or offer information about UN resolutions. Articles that addressed UN resolutions, mentioned them or referred to them or to the United Nations were kept for coding.

*The Washington Post* was available in two Newsstream databases. The researcher used both as they cover different timeframes. The first was *The Washington Post* (Pre-1997 full text),<sup>13</sup> where the researcher retrieved 6 results total, which were retrieved between September 13, 1993- December 3, 1996 (when the data is available for in this database). The second was *The Washington Post* (1996- present),<sup>14</sup> from which the researcher retrieved 53 news articles

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<sup>13</sup> Publication ID: *pubid* (47014)

<sup>14</sup> Publication ID: *pubid* (10327)

from December 4, 1996 through December 28, 2017. A total 13 articles were discarded from both databases, and **41** news articles were counted from both sets.

*The Guardian* results were found in two databases. The first database, *The Guardian* Manchester UK (Pre- 1997 Full text),<sup>15</sup> didn't generate any results with the keywords, between September 13, 1993-December 31, 1996. *The Guardian* London UK (1996- present),<sup>16</sup> found 48 items, 26 of which were discarded and **22** counted between January 1, 1997-December 28, 2017. *The New York Times* (International Edition; 1992-present, with some exceptions)<sup>17</sup> data identified 83 “news” results between September 13, 1993-December 28, 2017, **43** were counted and 40 discarded. Finally, 66 results were retrieved from *The Times of London*,<sup>18</sup> **18** were counted and 48 were discarded, from September 13, 1993-December 28, 2017.

The census of articles from all publications was **124** “news” reports, with **41** from the *Washington Post*, **22** from the *Guardian*, **43** from the *New York Times*, and **18** from the *Times of London*.

## Findings

### Coverage Over the Years

The researcher divided the timeframe of the study (24 years) into five-year groups for the sake of clarity and understanding of the research results of the coverage of the UN resolutions. Results show that more than half of the articles appeared during 2008-2012 (67 articles or 54.0%). The fewest articles appeared during 1993-1997 (three articles or 2.4%). Coverage rates

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<sup>15</sup> Publication ID: *pubid* (35250)

<sup>16</sup> Publication ID: *pubid* (35249)

<sup>17</sup> Publication ID: *pubid* (45131)

The *New York Times* carried different titles over the course of the history. The articles collected in this research were found in two international publications that were found available under publications titled: *International Herald Tribune; Paris*, and *International New York Times; Paris*. For the sake of clarity, the paper will refer to this newspaper as **international edition of the New York Times**.

<sup>18</sup> Publication ID: *pubid* (33565)

were relatively similar during 2003-2007 (25 articles or 20.2/%) and 2013-2017 (17 articles or 13.7%). Twelve articles (9.7%) appeared in 1998-2002.

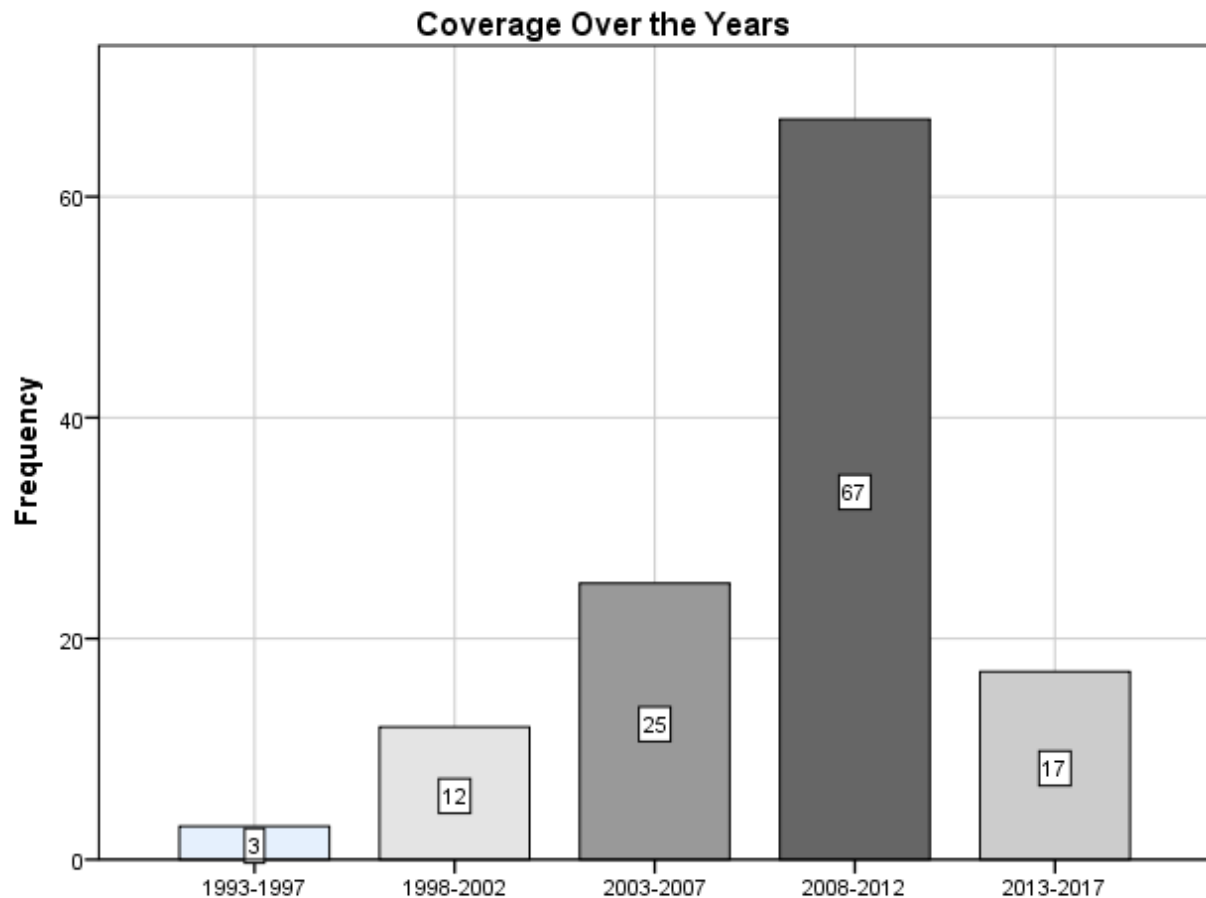


Figure 1: Number of news articles published by U.S. and British newspapers 1993-2017.

#### Coverage Dispersed Among Newspapers

The two American newspapers (*The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*) published about twice as many articles on UN Palestinian resolutions than did the two British newspapers. Further, the *Times* and *Post* published nearly an identical number of articles (43 *Times* articles or 34.7% versus 41 articles or 33.1% in the *Post*). In comparison, *The Times of*

*London* published 18 articles (14.5%) and *The Guardian* 22 articles (17.7%).

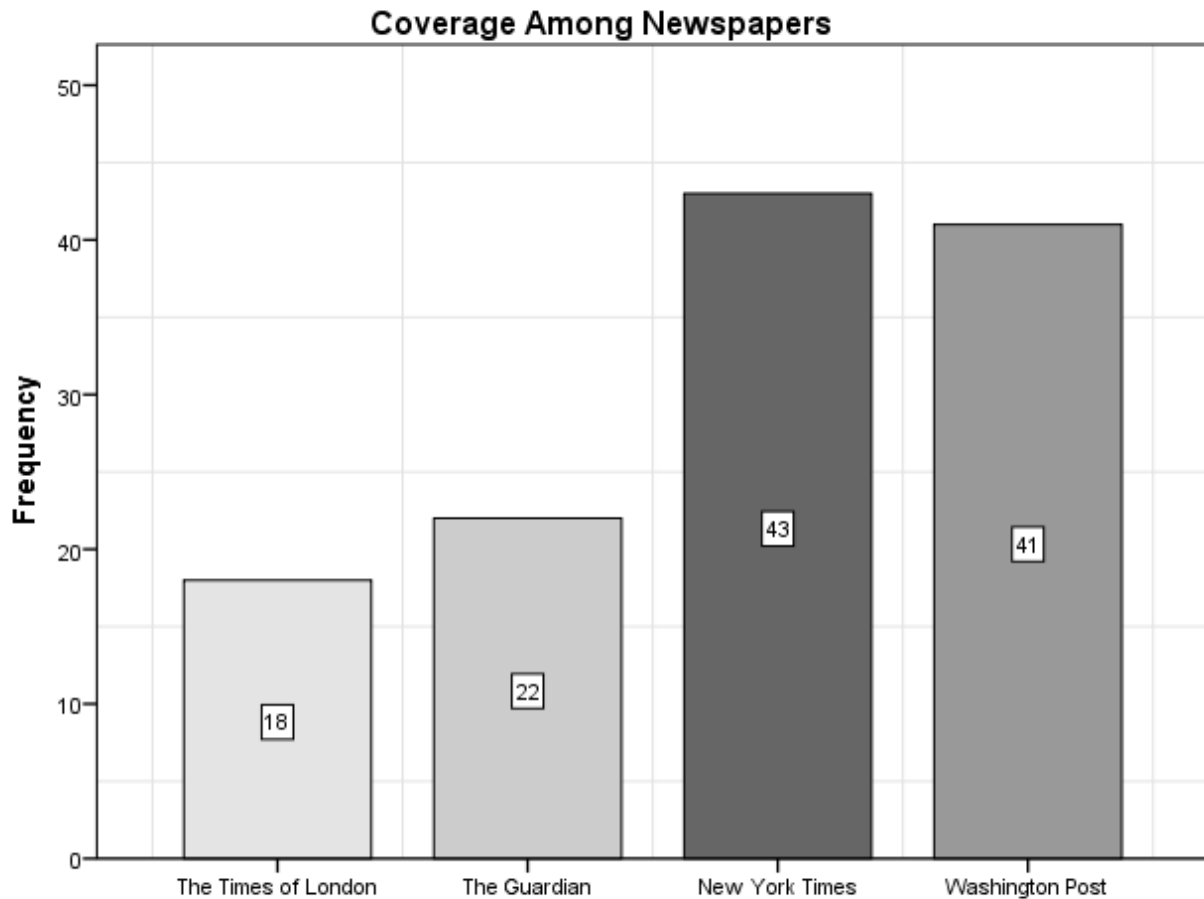


Figure 2 Percentage of news articles published by each newspaper.

## Frames

“War and Peace” strongly dominated among the six frames studied, occurring in nearly half of the articles (53 articles or 42.7%). It appeared more than twice as often as the second most frequent frame, “Human Rights” (26 articles or 21.0%). It was followed by “Threat/Fear” (17 articles or 13.7%) and “Other” with (14 articles or 11.3%). The final three frames appeared seldom. “Mutual Justice” and “Denial” appeared in five articles (4.0%), “Victimhood” in four articles (3.2%).

Table 1 Numbers of cases and percent of frames in articles

<b>Frame</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Threat/ Fear	17	13.7
Human Rights	26	21.0
War and Peace	53	42.7
Victimhood	4	3.2
Denial	5	4.0
Mutual Justice	5	4.0
Other	14	11.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>100.0</b>

### News Frames Dispersed among all newspapers

Table 2 Number of cases and percent of news frames among news outlets

		<b>British Newspapers</b>		<b>American newspapers</b>	
		<b>The Times</b>	<b>The Guardian</b>	<b>The Washington Post</b>	<b>The New York Times</b>
<b>Frame Code</b>	<b>Frame</b>	<b>Cases</b>	<b>Cases</b>	<b>Cases</b>	<b>Cases</b>
1	Threat/ Fear	4 (22.2%)	1 (4.5%)	7 (17.1%)	5 (11.6%)
2	Human Rights	4 (22.2%)	6 (27.3%)	7 (17.1%)	9 (20.9%)
3	War and Peace	7	12	19	15

		(38.9%)	(54.5%)	(46.3%)	(34.9%)
4	Victimhood	0 (0.0%)	1 (4.5%)	1 (2.4%)	2 (4.7%)
5	Denial	2 (11.1%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (4.9%)	1 (2.3%)
6	Mutual Justice	0 (0.0%)	1 (4.5%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (9.3%)
7	Other	1 (5.6%)	1 (4.5%)	5 (12.2%)	7 (16.3%)
Total		18	22	41	43

The treatment of UN resolutions among the newspapers varied substantially. While the war-and-peace frame was most dominant among all newspapers, it appeared most frequently in *The Guardian*, and appeared the least often in *The New York Times*. The human rights frame was the next most common frame found in both British and U.S. newspapers, with dominance in *The Guardian*. Both British papers contained significantly more human rights frames than did either U.S. paper. The American papers exhibited a greater range of frames, including various “other frames” that outnumbered the frames of victimhood, denial and mutual justice (which never appeared in *The Post* or *The Times of London*). The threat-or-fear frame was the third most common frame in all but *The Guardian*, where it appeared negligibly. Similarly, the denial frame never occurred in *The Guardian* although it appeared in the other three newspapers. The denial and mutual justice frames were the least frequent news frames.

#### War and Peace Frame

The ‘War and Peace Frame’ appeared in 53 news articles (or 42.7 %), more than twice as often as the other frames. As the dominant frame, characteristics of peace and war were nearly evenly divided. Discussions around UN resolutions addressing Jerusalem, for instance, were

described by *The Times* in 2017 as an attempt to settle peace between Palestinians and Israelis, and by the *Washington Post* in 2017 to report what was advancing war between both sides. Language referring to peace and war varied, reflecting the UN and member nations' stances towards Palestine and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. For example, indicators conveying "war" referenced Trump's decision to move the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem. *The Times* described a UN resolution in 2017 as a "stunning rebuke" of Trump's decision to move the embassy. "President Trump received a stinging rebuke from the United Nations .... Despite warnings of US funding cuts to the UN, the general assembly passed a resolution calling for Mr. Trump to rescind his decision to move the US embassy to Jerusalem" (Blakely, 2017). *Washington Post* coverage reflected how the U.S. claimed UN stance would "undermine prospects for peace" (Morello and Eglash, 2017).

References to peace in which the UN addressed the Israeli-Palestinian conflict were present in UK newspapers, too. *The Guardian*, for instance, stated, "The security council unanimously approved resolution 1515 on November 19, 2003, supporting the 'road map' as the method for promoting peace in the region" (Shalom, 2004). The same article also addressed how "the 2003 general assembly saw 19 anti-Israel resolutions. ... This stands in stark contrast to the failure of the very same assembly to muster most resolutions to protect Israeli children against terrorism" (para. 8).

### Human Rights Frame

This frame appeared in 26 news articles (21.0%). Stories addressed aspects of violations and/or threats to human rights such as injustices against Palestinians, the Israeli-built wall and its effect on mobility, and Hamas rockets against Israeli citizens. An example from *The Times* stated, "A draft resolution circulated to Security Council members demanded 'the immediate



cessation of all military operations in the area of northern Gaza and the withdrawal of the Israeli occupying forces from the area,”” (Bone and Mackinnon, 2004). *The Guardian* reported in 2009, “The UN general assembly is expected to approve a resolution this week calling on Israel and the Palestinians to carry out independent investigations into allegations of war crimes and during the Gaza conflict last January,” (McCarthy, 2009). “Human rights” in the U.S. newspapers addressed violations on both sides of the conflict. *The New York Times* for instance, stated, “The draft resolution in the General Assembly condemns ‘all targeting of civilians’” (MacFarquhar, 2009).

#### Threat / Fear Frame

This frame was present in 17 articles (13.7%) in both U.S. and British newspapers. It referenced the lack of self-determination for Palestine and Palestinians or the quest for recognition as a nation state. U.S. newspapers reported on U.S. and international views on conflicting attitudes toward the Palestinian pursuit of statehood. *The New York Times* reported in 2011, “A complex set of diplomatic endeavors, meanwhile, is underway to slow down or at least shape the UN process. There is little optimism accompanying the effort” (Bronner, 2011). Another example of the fear frame occurred in a *Guardian* article that predicted “a state of Palestine would backfire on its own people” (Hasan, 2011). The *Guardian* reported there was fear that the UN’s welcoming of statehood bid was a trap for Palestinians of their own making (Hasan, 2011).

#### Other Frames

In addition to the six news frames studied, a variety of uncategorized other frames appeared in several articles. One could be described as the “Effectiveness” frame as when the *Post* (Aug. 3, 2014) noted the UN has been criticized for its role in Gaza, and how its operating

agencies such as UNRWA are viewed as aligned with Hamas even though the UN condemns Hamas's acts. The same article addressed the impact and effectiveness of UN resolutions, since Israel failed to comply with resolutions decrying settlements expansion or calling for an end to the siege of Gaza.

The Palestinian bid for statehood and its campaign to attain UN observer member status was one example of how UN resolutions didn't provide enough support for Palestinians. An example from *The New York Times*, stated that "Declaring that they are left with no alternative, Palestinians plan to request recognition of a Palestinian state later this month in a UN Security Council and General Assembly," (Carter, 2011). The *Washington Post* also mentioned how Israel refused to address UN complaints about its violations in Gaza, particularly against UN and international relief workers, and how Israeli officials justified their violations because of the UN support for Palestine. The introduction of pro-Palestine resolutions by the UN was considered a turn against Israel, as these resolutions condemned certain acts or violations by Israel and were claimed to ignore Palestinian suicide bombings against Israelis (Colum, 2002).

#### Denial Frame

This frame appeared in five news articles (4.0%), which reported on reactions to the defeat of various proposed resolutions regarding Palestine or the conflict, as well as resolutions that were vetoed or did not go up for a vote. *The Times* addressed the European split over Palestine's aspirations for recognition at the UN: "However, Foreign Office and Whitehall officials appear split between a reflexive 'no' to the unilaterally Palestinian move and the cautious 'yes' ..." (Boyes and Hines, 2011). The *Washington Post* reported on a Palestinian initiative seeking a UN resolution to establish its sovereignty based on the 1967 border. It noted "the United States has threatened to veto such a resolution in the U.N Security Council, insisting

that the Palestinians will get their state only by direct negotiations with Israel and not through UN declaration” (Carol and William, 2014).

#### Mutual Justice Frame

This frame, in which UN resolutions were reported to promote mutual justice or compromise as the only just solution to the conflict, appeared in only five news articles (4.0%). *The Times* did discuss how the Palestinian statehood bid was tied to earlier agreements that acknowledged the mutual existence of Israelis and Palestinians. “The 1993 accords helped create the Palestinian authority that governs the Palestinian West Bank territories and established a framework by which Israelis and Palestinians could reach a final agreement” (Sheera and Jerusalem, 2011). U.S. papers also addressed mutual justice for Palestinians and Israelis, for example, in a 1995 story that reported “the UN General Assembly resolved on Nov. 29, 1947, to partition the country into Jewish and as Arab state linked by economic union,” (Gideon, 1995).

#### Victimhood Frame

The victimhood frame appeared the fewest times, appearing in only four news articles (3.2%). This frame looked at mentions of antisemitism and the Holocaust. One example appeared in a *New York Times* article that reported, “A condemnation of antisemitism was included for the first time in the annual resolution against religious intolerance” (Hoge, 2005). *The Times of London* also reported on both Palestinians and Israelis as victims. For example, it reported on acts of the Israeli occupation and passage of a resolution concerning the West Bank barrier (MacKinnon, 2004). Another example of victimhood framing of both sides occurred in a *Guardian* story on violations by Israel against Palestinian citizens as well as by Hamas against Israeli citizens, “The council voted to endorse ... Goldstone’s report which accused Israel and Hamas of committing war crimes,” *The Guardian* reported. “The resolution also condemned

Israel's policies in east Jerusalem, ... demolitions of Palestinian homes and excavation work near Al-Haram al-Shari" (McCarthy, 2009).

### **Tone**

Most articles were "neutral" (n = 71 or 57.3%), meaning that framing favored neither Palestine nor Israel or that positive or negative tone toward Palestine and Israel was equal. The tone of the remaining articles was more often negative (n = 30 or 24.2%) than positive (n = 23 or 18.5%). Examples of negative articles included those that criticized Hamas for throwing rockets at Israeli citizens or that condemned Israeli settlements' expansion onto Palestinian land.

The tone variable also looked at favoritism and preference shown to Israel and Palestine. Nearly half the articles that showed favoritism were positive toward Palestine (n = 60 or 48.4%), compared with 49 articles (39.5%) that appeared supportive toward Israel.

Table 3 Frequency and Percent of Tone

<b>Tone</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Neutral	71	57.3
Positive	23	18.5
Negative	30	24.2
Total	124	100.0

### **Dominant Sources**

Official Palestinian and Israeli sources were dominant, as they appeared in almost all articles (n = 111 or 89.5%), closely followed by international sources (n = 101 or 81.5%). Domestic and document sources occurred more closely in frequency (n = 99 or 79.8% and n = 94 or 75.8%). Unofficial sources trailed significantly, appearing in only 53 articles (42.7%). The study shows that the newspapers utilized a wide range of official Palestinian, Israeli, and

international sources, which included officials from the United States, the UK, and their representatives at the UN. The newspapers were less reliant on unofficial sources, which represent countries or professionals of other Middle Eastern or European countries.

Table 4 Frequency and Percent of Sources

Source	Frequency	Percent
Domestic	99	(79.8%)
Palestinians and Israelis	111	(89.5%)
International	101	(81.5%)
Unofficial	53	(42.7%)
Document	94	(75.8%)

### **Intercoder Reliability**

The study utilized a second coder to ascertain intercoder reliability. The researcher coded 124 news articles according to the coding sheet and codebook. A second coder was trained to code 10 percent ( $n = 12$ ) of the articles, which were randomly selected. Each variable was calculated by using Scott's pi to make sure the codebook instructions were reliable.

The intercoder reliability was checked twice. The first round of results for some variables was found to be below 0.7, the minimum preferred standard for reliability. The researcher and second coder then reviewed their results together and addressed interpretations that led to the presented results. The coding schema was reviewed until the second coder expressed clarity on concepts being coded. The second coder then reviewed the material again and recoded all the variables. On this round, Scott's pi results ranged between .952 and 1.0 for each variable: Dominant frame (.952), Dominant tone (1.0).

## Discussion

The study explored how two major American and two major British newspapers covered UN resolutions regarding Palestine from the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993 through 2017, when the White House announced plans to move the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem. This analysis is important because it expands previous framing literature on news coverage by taking a longitudinal, global approach to the analysis. The most striking finding is the broad range of frames that characterize coverage of the resolutions related to Palestine, including a range of “other” frames that moved beyond the six categories listed by the study. This suggests how contentious the Palestine question has been across a quarter century of news coverage, as well as the challenges of attempting to generalize about news coverage. Another significant finding is that the war-and-peace frame dramatically dominated coverage, appearing in more than half the articles analyzed (42.7%) and appearing more than twice as often as the next most overall common frame, human rights (21%), which appeared more often in British newspapers. The war-and-peace frame dominated 34.9% of *The New York Times* articles, nearly equal the percentage of *The Guardian*’s articles dominated by human rights frame (27.3%). Although the war-and-peace frame also dominated UK papers, it only dominated in 38.9% of *The Times* articles compared with an overall high of 54.5 % in *The Guardian*.

The evidence suggests that U.S. and British news media may be more preoccupied with violence in the region than in the human rights issues at stake in the Israeli occupation of Palestine. The dominance of the war-and-peace frame may also indicate the news media’s greater interest in finding a peaceful resolution to the Palestinian situation—or perhaps that conflict remains an enduring value in journalism. The dominance of the war-and-peace frame contrasts with some previous studies of U.S. and British newspapers that heavily framed the

Israeli-Palestinian conflict from a “humanization” frame (Moufawad et al, 2006), “victimization” perspective (Ross, 2003; Downey et. al., 2006), and “injustice or “law and order” frames (Cohen and Wolfsfeld, 1993).

The researcher also found it interesting that the threat/fear frame, present in 13.7% of both U.S. and British newspapers, was not more dominant in newspaper coverage in either nation. Previous research has found limited U.S. news media coverage of Israel’s quest for security (Stawicki, 2009) and how the intensification of violence connects to terrorism that threatens the conflict (Fahmy and Eakin, 2013). Another interesting contrast with previous research was the infrequency of the victimhood frame, which in contrast was found to dominate coverage in several previous studies that also found media portrayed Israelis as victims (Downey et al.’ 2006; Ross, 2003; Moufawad et al., 2006; Roy, 2012 Alkalliny, 2017; and Siddiqui and Zaheer, 2018). This study is more consistent with other previous studies that found media framed Palestinians positively as victims (Deprez and Raeymaeckers, 2010; Ozohu-Suleiman and Ishak, 2014).

The researcher found it interesting that categories of new frames present under “Other” could be described as “Effectiveness” frame and “Neutrality and or Impartiality.” Effectiveness frame relates to the impact of the role of the UN resolutions and how it impacted the course of the conflict. “Neutrality and or Impartiality” frames represent how the UN resolutions were not considered biased toward or against Israel or Palestine. These new perspectives or themes weren’t present in the previous studies utilized for this research. This may indicate a new shift of focus of coverage of the UN resolutions, or show a new perspective into how the media looked at the resolutions and their impact and perception from people or countries that play a role in the conflict one way or another.

A major finding is that the tone of most articles was neutral (57.3%). The takeaway from this statistic may be that newspapers did a better job of upholding the American journalistic ideal of objectivity in their Israeli-Palestine coverage than has been observed in previous studies. U.S. newspapers proved more neutral than British newspapers. These findings are a contribution to the literature because they contrast with previous findings by scholars who found biases not only in U.S. and British media but also in international news media (Alkalliny, 2017; Siddiqui and Zaheer, 2018; Downey et al., 2006; Thomas, 2011; Fahmy and Eakin, 2013). The victimhood frame applied to both Israelis and Palestinians in the few articles in which it appeared. The infrequency of this frame contrasts with previous studies where victimhood was most frequent in majority of previous research about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Ross, 2003; Downey et al., 2006). It also is significant because previous studies (Ross, 2003; Moufawad et al, 2006) found the victimhood frame applied mainly to Israelis in U.S. media, while British media was concerned mostly with the humanitarian aspect of the conflict. British media employed conflicting frames (positive and negative) in their reporting on the conflict (Thomas, 2011; Wang, 2017).

Another statistic that stands out in the study is that U.S. newspapers published twice as many articles as did UK newspapers on UN resolutions regarding Palestine. This finding may be at least partly explained by the United States' historic long-term involvement in seeking a political resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Finally, most articles in the analysis were published from 2008 through 2012. The preponderance of news coverage during this period may be explained by the increased frequency of UN General Assembly and Security Council during this period. News media covered increases in Israeli settlement activities and violations against



Palestinians in addition to the Palestinian Authority's attempts to change its status from "observer entity" to "non-member observer state."

Dominant sources in the both U.S. and UK newspapers were predominantly Israeli and Palestinian. While almost both types of sources were almost represented equally, Palestinian sources were predominant. This may suggest that Palestinians or Palestine were given priority in the news, or it could suggest that Palestinian sources were the first to respond to UN resolutions.

### **Limitations and Future Studies**

The study focused on only four elite newspapers that cover international news and enjoy wide circulation and influence in the United States and UK and beyond, so newspapers in the two countries that cover only national or regional news or are less highly regarded were omitted. The study also focused on newspapers to the exclusion of other types of news media, such as magazines, television, radio, digital native news outlets, and social media. The research did not consider publications in terms of their political orientation, which means that results may not accurately depict overall American and UK news frames of UN resolutions regarding Palestine. The study further selected a specific time frame, which means that coverage of other important UN resolutions that occurred prior to the 1993 Oslo Accords or after 2017 are not included in the analysis. Finally, the study utilized four newspapers representing two nations, and thus results are not generalizable beyond them.

Future research might study frames that appeared in the "Other" category and identify other significant news that shaped reporting about UN resolutions regarding Palestine. Now that U.S. and UK newspaper articles on the topic have been identified, future researchers could compare those results with coverage of UN resolutions for Palestine by news media in other

nations. Future studies could also consider datelines from Israel and Palestine to look at differences in reporting about UN resolutions.

## **Conclusion**

The study of media framing of UN resolutions for Palestine between 1993 to 2017 can help evaluate the role that both the news media and the UN have played in shaping the question of Palestine. This transnational, longitudinal content analysis identified a surprisingly wide range of framing of UN Israeli-Palestinian resolutions, although it found the war-and-peace frame to be the most dominant in shaping news about the conflict. The study points to the need for additional research and measures to provide a clearer picture of news coverage of the enduring conflict over Palestine's fate. This study is a starting point to foster understanding of how the media cover not only UN resolutions about Palestine but also perhaps how media cover contentious politics in countries where conflict and instability remain the status quo.

## APPENDIX A— CODE BOOK

### Codes for Newspaper Content Analysis

#### Variables will be referred to as: V

**The Unit of Analysis for articles is: News**

#### ***V 1.: Case Number (newspapers)***

- 1= The Times of London
- 2= The Guardian
- 3= New York Times
- 4= Washington Post

#### **V 2: Article Data and Context:**

**V 2. 1. Date:** Given in full (month/day/year)

**V 2. 1. 1.** Years will be coded as follows. For the sake of clarity and better understanding of the resolutions' coverage over the years, the researcher will group the dates into five groups, each covering five years of the duration of the research, starting from 1993 till 2017, as follows:

- 1= 1993 - 1997
- 2= 1998 - 2002
- 3= 2003 - 2007
- 4= 2008 - 2012
- 5= 2013- 2017

#### **V 3. Framing of the News:**

Deciding on frames will require one coder and intercoder to examine the news and look for characteristics that match the majority of descriptions for the frame below that dominates for each article. This would mean that there may be characteristics from other frames in an article but the most (the headline, lead, and body of news report) text is dedicated to the frame selected.

#### **V 3. 1. Threat or Fear Frame** (Manor and Crilley, 2018).

The frame looks at a UN resolution (or resolutions) as a source of threat for one of the parties involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Threats to Israel may include resolutions that condemn Israel's settlement expansion or military actions. Threats to Palestine include statements about it not having the right to self-determination and becoming a recognized state. A threat or fear frame also would be one where there's more UN support for one country over the other in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. An example of support for Israel would be when the UN votes against a Palestinian-affiliated party such as Hamas or the UN condemns Fatah or Hamas for their role against Israel. This could include Hamas, for example, firing rockets at Israel that destroy property and kill Israeli citizens, and being reprimanded for the action. Another example of a threat would be when the UN would state dissatisfaction with Israel for human rights or treaty violations that disadvantaged Palestinians. Other threats would include arrests of Palestinians, confiscation of land, and killing Palestinians.

### **V 3. 2. Human Rights Frame**

A human rights frame would be when the story links issues pertaining to the Israeli-Palestinians conflict to human rights. This frame emphasizes media coverage of UN resolutions on the Israel-Palestine conflict and focuses on Israeli and /or Palestinian human rights violations. The UN definition of human rights is used as a foundation: “Human rights are rights inherent to all human beings, regardless of race, sex, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, or any other status. Human rights include the right to life and liberty, freedom from slavery and torture, freedom of opinion and expression, the right to work and education, and many more. Everyone is entitled to these rights, without discrimination” (UN, n.d., para. 1). Rights also may include freedom of movement, freedom to assemble, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom to redress grievances to a public authority. Freedom of information also is included. Taking away the right for freedom of mobility, closure or sieges of jurisdictions, administrative detention, and arrests and torture are some examples of human rights abuses. The news story also may provide information for readers about different human rights cases

Reporting about threats and/or violations to human rights would dominate the article for this frame. Here a majority of terms such as “human rights,” “violations,” “crimes against humanity,” where the UN resolution address actions as violations against human rights.

### **V 3. 3. War and / or Peace Frame**

In various publics, the UN resolutions are, at times, perceived to add fuel to the fire and instead of fostering peace having an outcome that spawns violence as one party may not benefit as greatly as another party. When this is the case, the framing would be considered a “war frame.” A “war frame” would include when reports indicate the resolutions hinder peace talks or the peace process. A war frame also includes categories such as dead and wounded and damage to property (Neumann and Fahmy, 2012, p.180). The language for a war frame also looks at indicators like suffering, violence, brutality, and other damages, for example. The war frame also would position Israel or Israelis as occupiers and Palestine or the Palestinians as the occupied and report policies that may have played a role in violence. According to Kempf, the war frame includes security-related reporting and reports on insecurity by emphasizing violence or the threat of continued violence (2014, p. 2). The frame will look at whether UN resolutions were followed by violence or foster peace between the sides of the conflict. Hence, the peace frame will include reporting about peace and /or security related to the UN resolutions. An example of a peace frame would be when UN resolutions related to the Israel-Palestine conflict are considered instrumental or foundations for peace talks or the peace process. The peace frame would include people-peacemakers, acts or people promoting a ceasefire, reconciliation, rehabilitation, and/or resolution (Neumann and Fahmy, 2012, p.182).

Another possibility would be whether UN resolutions were perceived as neutralizing forces (neither spawning peace nor war).

To distinguish the dominant type of frame, the following will be added for cases when one dominates by the majority of paragraphs in the entire article: majority characteristics war frame, majority characteristics peace frame, and neutral for characteristics equal for war and peace.

### **V 3. 4. Victimhood Frame**

This dominant frame focus is news reporting on UN resolutions that largely frame news related to victimhood of Palestinians or Israelis through bias toward one party over the other. A victimhood frame for Israel or Israelis would be when Israel is portrayed as a victim with referencing to the Holocaust. The victimhood frame also could focus on the victimization or manipulation of Jews by Nazis. It also would be reporting that focuses on countries in the region siding with or supporting Palestinians. It also could be reporting that focuses largely on Israel's allies. Another example of victimhood would be an emphasis in the reporting on what political parties like Hamas may do against Israelis. In addition, victimhood includes how Jews or Israelis are attacked in the name of anti-semitism.

Victimhood of Palestinians includes examples of their suffering over time or the present in the news report. A historical example would include the 1948 war that led to the Nakba, when hundreds of thousands of Palestinian-Arabs fled (or were forced to leave) their homes. Other victimhood issues for the Palestinians would be most of the reporting about the 1967 war, or how Palestinian national identity has been challenged by Israel.

The frame would also reference the relationship between Israelis and Palestinians, how both sides react to peace talks or peace process from the perspective of the occupier-and-occupied. Victimhood here will address different aspects regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: either the claimed cause-and-effect, occupier-occupied relation between the two, or the Israeli-Palestinian competition over whose claim to victimhood is superior, or outsiders' (other countries like the U.K. or US ) and their responses to the "two sides" in the conflict and support of one of the "victims" in the conflict (Caplan, 2012, p. 8). The frame will look at the following: majority of references report Israelis as victims, majority of references report Palestinians as victims, and equal number of references to Israelis and Palestinians as victims.

### **V 3. 5. Denial Frame**

This frame looks at how the different parties involved in the discussions around the Israeli-Palestinian conflict respond with denial to UN resolutions related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Levin, 2007, p. 86). A denial frame reports claims that the values of Palestinians are considered invalid by Israelis or supporters of Israel or a rejection of UN resolutions that would support Palestine positions. A denial frame also reflects the growth of opposition against Palestinians, or Israel or Israelis. An example of a denial frame also would be a veto or a no vote against a resolution that supports Palestine or Israel.

### **V 3. 6. Mutual Justice**

This frame attests UN resolutions promoting mutual justice or mutual justice for both sides of the conflict. Ross (2003) states this frame represents justice or compromise as the only just solution. This stems from both Palestinians and Israelis historical claim on the land and a right to self-determination and safety. The frame will look at how UN resolution(s) framing supported or denied mutual justice for both Palestinians and Israelis. An example of mutual justice would be where a UN resolution is viewed as a promise to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. UN resolutions would be advocating justice for Palestinians or Palestine as well as Israel or Israelis, with the recognition of both parties' historical claims and links to the land of Palestine, or, for instance, religious claims. News focused on a "two-state" solution also would be an example of this. The frame here would also look at how UN resolutions compromise peace for both

Palestinians and Israelis. Furthermore, the frame would consider the frequency of terms related to justice or liberation and how often they appeared throughout the news report to address mutual justice for the sides of the conflict. This frequency being vast majority for a dominant frame.

### **V 3. 7. Other**

This category is for articles' frames that don't fit under any of the other frame categories. If this category exceeds 10 percent of the census of articles, then items within "Other" would be reviewed for overarching frame themes to create other frame categories.

### **V 4. Dominant frame coding:**

Frames coding will be done in two steps. First, sheet no. 1 contains all frames and their characteristics in the code book, and coder will be looking at coding 0 or 1 for frames, to refer to existing or non-existing frames in the articles.

**0= News frame**

**1= No news frame**

And for sheet no. 2, we look at coding the dominant frame only and for that, coding will follow the relevant numbering for each frame described below (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7). If coder couldn't locate a frame in the article, please code as

**0= News frame**

**1= No news frame**

#### **The news frame is:**

**V 4. 1.1= Threat/ Fear Frame**

**V 4. 2. 2= Human Rights Frame**

**V 4. 3. 3= War and Peace Frame**

**V4. 3 a** Majority characteristics war frame:

0= Yes

1= No

**V4. 3. b** Majority characteristics peace frame:

0= Yes

1= No

**V4. 3. c** Characteristics equal for war and peace:

0= Yes

1= No

**V 4. 4. 4= Victimhood Frame**

**V 4.4. a:** Majority of references report Israelis as victims:

0= Yes

1= No

**V4. 4. b:** Majority of references report Palestinians as victims:

0= Yes

1= No

**V4. 4. c:** Equal number of references to Israelis and Palestinians as victims:

0= Yes

1= No

- V 4. 5.** 5= Denial Frame  
**V 4. 6.** 6= Mutual Justice  
**V 4. 7.** 7= Other

**V 5. Tone**

This variable will look at dominant tone in the articles (positive, negative, or neutral). To ascertain tone, each paragraph will be analyzed for tone and the majority tone will be the dominant tone. If both the number of negative and positive tone paragraphs are equal, the article will be categorized as neutral tone.

A positive tone is one where UN resolutions are considered supportive of Palestine or Israel. A positive tone would include words of support for Palestine (or Palestinians) or Israel or Israelis. A negative tone would condemn one side or the other for actions. For example, negative tone would condemn Israel or Israeli occupation for violations against Palestinians or violence against Palestinians. Negative tone would condemn Palestine or Palestinians for violence or for walking away from peace talks, for example.

The neutral tone would be when the UN resolutions are neither supportive of Palestine or Israel, nor critical of Israel or Palestine.

**V 5. 1. The tone of the article:**

- 1= Positive  
2= Negative  
0= Neutral

**V 5. 1a.:**

Tone is biased toward Israel:

- 0= Yes  
1= No

**V 5. 1b.:**

Tone is biased toward Palestine:

- 0= Yes  
1= No

**V 6. Dominant source**

Dominant sources of the news reports will be the sources that are cited the most. Four categories of sources will be used: domestic sources (professionals or bodies of representatives who are tied directly to the United Nations); Palestinian or Israeli sources; international sources (being U.K., US, or another country and responded one way or another to UN resolutions, peace process or peace talks); unofficial sources (other professionals of different countries who would respond to the UN resolutions or peace talks or peace process); and documents or records as sources (which refer to documents related to resolutions or decisions adopted by the UN, or one of the sources involved in the conflict).

**V 6. 1. 1. Domestic Sources (UN officials or representatives of bodies affiliated with the UN, like general director, secretary general, etc):**

- 0= Yes

1= No

**V 6. 1. 2. Palestinian and or Israeli Sources (presidents, prime ministers, spokespersons, etc.):**

0= Yes

1= No

**V 6. 1. 3. International Sources (U.K., US, or their officials/representatives at the UN or government officials, etc):**

0= Yes

1= No

**V 6. 1. 4. Unofficial Sources (of countries or professionals of other Middle Eastern or European countries for instance, citizens on the streets):**

0= Yes

1= No

**V 6. 1. 5. Document Sources (UN resolutions, or decisions, or reports or other records):**

0= Yes

1= No



## APPENDIX B — UN DOCUMENTS ADOPTED FOR PALESTINE AND ISRAEL<sup>19</sup>

The table below shows resolutions adopted by Security Council and General Assembly for Palestine between 1993-2017.

<b>Security Council Resolutions between 1993- 2017</b>	
<b>18 MARCH 1994 <u>S/RES/904</u></b>	This resolution called upon Israel, the occupying Power, to implement measures, including confiscation of arms, with the aim of preventing illegal acts of violence by Israeli settlers against Palestinian civilians in the Occupied territories.
<b>7 OCTOBER 2000 <u>S/RES/1322</u></b>	This resolution condemned Israeli violence in Jerusalem.
<b>12 MARCH 2002 <u>S/RES/1397</u></b>	This resolution demanded an immediate end to all acts of violence and called on both sides to resume negotiations.
<b>30 MARCH 2002 <u>S/RES/1402</u></b>	This resolution expressed concern at the worsening conflict between Israel and the Palestinians.
<b>4 APRIL 2002 <u>S/RES/1403</u></b>	This resolution demanded implementation of resolution 1397.
<b>19 APRIL 2002 <u>S/RES/1405</u></b>	This resolution welcomed the Secretary-General's initiative to establish a fact-finding team for the Jenin refugee camp.
<b>24 SEPTEMBER 2002 <u>S/RES/1435</u></b>	This resolution demanded an end to Israeli attacks in Ramallah and urged the Palestinian Authority to bring to justice all those responsible for terrorist attacks against civilians.
<b>13 DECEMBER 2002 <u>S/RES/1450</u></b>	This resolution condemned the 28 November terrorist attacks in Kenya.

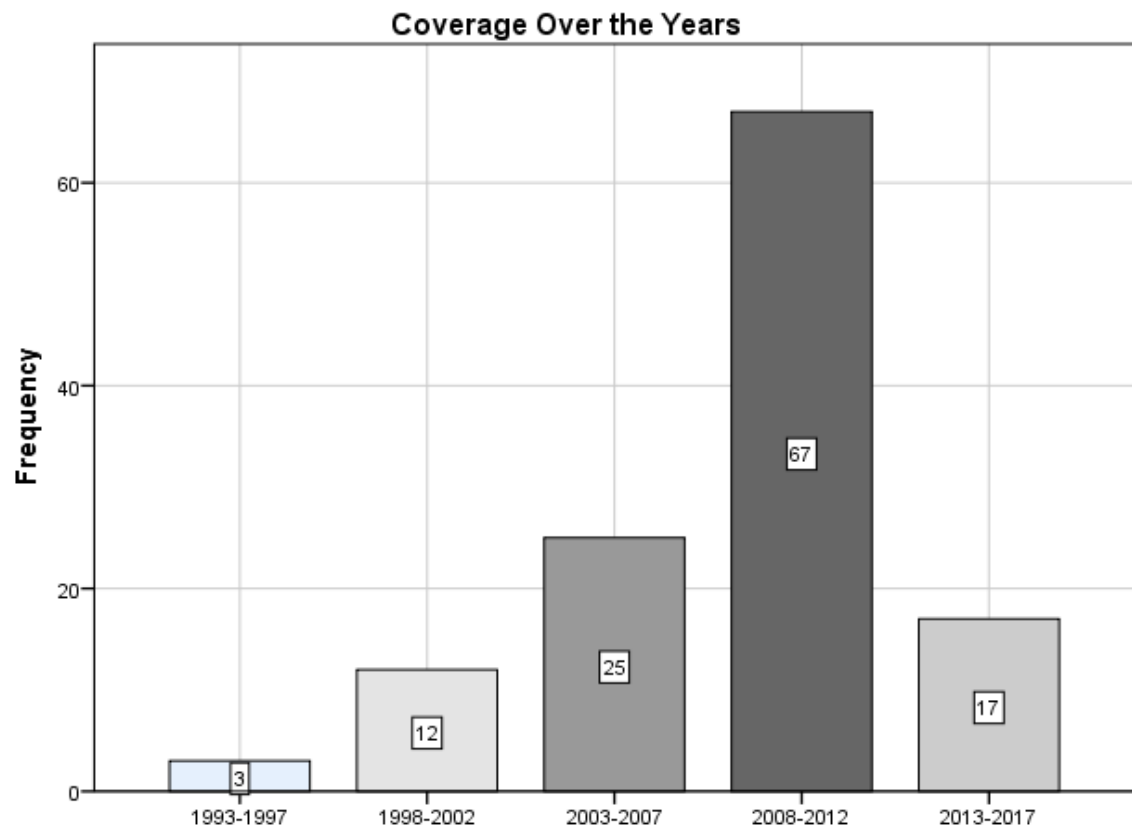
<sup>19</sup> See Security Council Report

<b>19 NOVEMBER 2003</b> <b><u>S/RES/1515</u></b>	This resolution stated the necessity for a two state solution and unanimously endorsed the Quartet's Road Map.
<b>19 MAY 2004</b> <b><u>S/RES/1544</u></b>	This resolution called on Israel not to demolish homes in the Rafah refugee camp and expressed grave concern over the humanitarian situation in the Rafah area.
<b>14 SEPTEMBER 2005</b> <b><u>S/RES/1624</u></b>	This resolution called on states to take further measures to combat terrorism.
<b>16 DECEMBER 2008</b> <b><u>S/RES/1850</u></b>	This resolution declared Council support for the Annapolis peace process and its commitment to the irreversibility of bilateral negotiations.
<b>8 JANUARY 2009</b> <b><u>S/RES/1860</u></b>	This resolution called for an immediate, durable and fully respected ceasefire leading to the full withdrawal of Israeli forces from Gaza.
<b>23 DECEMBER 2016</b> <b><u>S/RES/2334</u></b>	This was a resolution that condemned Israeli settlements and was adopted with 14 votes in favour and a US abstention.
<b>General Assembly Documents between 1993-2017</b>	
<b>7 JULY 1998</b> <b><u>A/RES/52/250</u></b>	This resolution elevated Palestine to a new sui generis observer status.
<b>8 DECEMBER 2003</b> <b><u>A/RES/ES-10/14</u></b>	This was a General Assembly resolution on the item "Illegal Israeli actions in Occupied East Jerusalem and the rest of the Occupied Palestinian Territory".
<b>10 DECEMBER 2004</b> <b><u>A/RES/59/124</u></b>	This was the resolution on ' Israeli practices affecting the human rights of the Palestinian people in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem.'
<b>30 NOVEMBER 2006</b> <b><u>A/RES/ES-10/16</u></b>	This resolution called for the immediate cessation of military action and all acts of violence between the Israeli

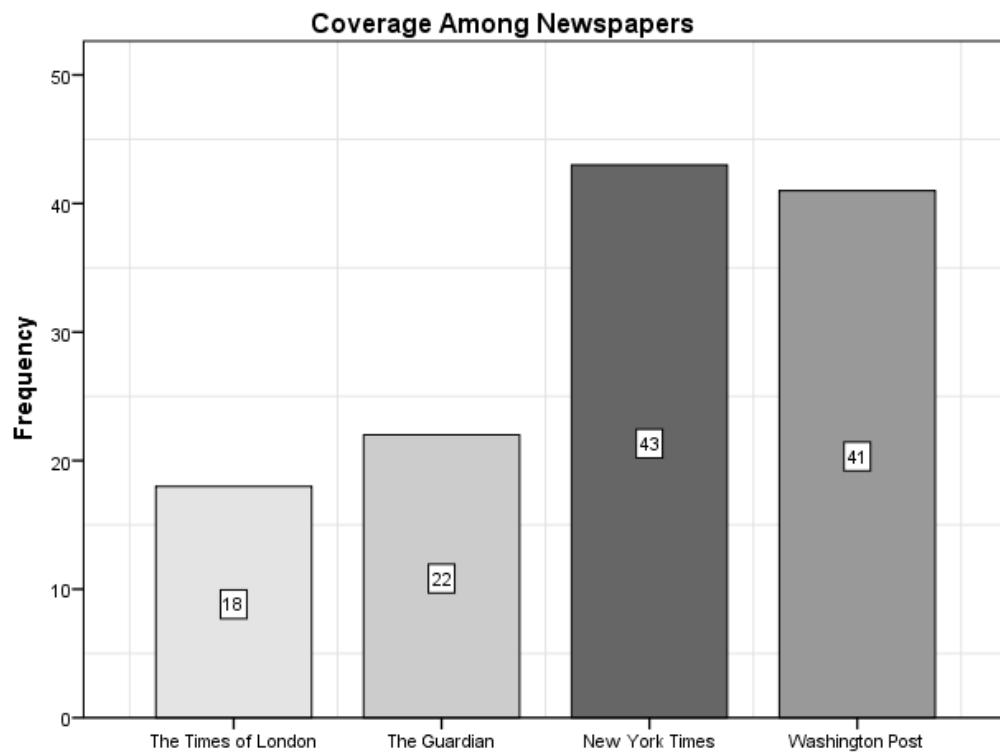
	and Palestinian sides and requested the Secretary-General to establish a fact-finding mission on the attack in Beit Hanoun on 8 November 2006.
<b>16 JANUARY 2009 <u>A/RES/ES-10/18</u></b>	This resolution decided to temporarily adjourn the tenth emergency special session.
<b>16 JANUARY 2009 <u>A/ES-10/L.21/Rev.1</u></b>	This was a draft resolution from Egypt, supporting the immediate ceasefire according to Security Council resolution 1860 (2009).
<b>2 NOVEMBER 2009 <u>A/64/L.1</u></b>	This was the follow-up to the report of the United Nations fact-finding mission on the Gaza conflict.
<b>4 FEBRUARY 2010 <u>A/64/651</u></b>	This was the Secretary-General's follow-up report to the UN Fact-Finding Mission on the Gaza conflict (the Goldstone Report).
<b>26 FEBRUARY 2010 <u>A/RES/64/254</u></b>	This resolution requested the Secretary-General to submit a further follow-up report to the Goldstone Report, within five months, with a view to consider further action, including by the Security Council.
<b>17 MARCH 2010 <u>A/HRC/13/54</u></b>	This was the High Commissioner for Human Rights' report on the Occupied Palestinian Territories, including implementation of the recommendations of the Goldstone Report.
<b>26 JULY 2010 <u>A/64/867</u></b>	This was the Secretary-General's second follow-up report to the Goldstone Report in truncated form pending translation of all the parties submissions.
<b>11 AUGUST 2010 <u>A/64/890</u></b>	This was the Secretary-General's second follow-up report to the UN Fact-Finding Mission on the Gaza conflict (the Goldstone Report); the first was A/64/651 of 4 February 2010.

<b>29 NOVEMBER 2012</b> <b><u>A/RES/67/19</u></b>	This resolution conferred non-member observer state status in the UN on Palestine.
<b>11 AUGUST 2014</b> <b><u>A/69/301</u></b>	This was the report to the General Assembly of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories.
<b>10 SEPTEMBER 2015</b> <b><u>A/RES/69/320</u></b>	This was a General Assembly resolution allowing the flags of non-member observer states to fly at UN headquarters in New York.
<b>23 OCTOBER 2017</b> <b><u>A/72/556</u></b>	This was the report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967.
<b>21 DECEMBER 2017</b> <b><u>A/RES/ES-10/19</u></b>	This was a resolution on the status of Jerusalem, adopted during the tenth emergency special session of the General Assembly with 128 votes in favour, 9 votes against, 35 abstentions and 21 absences.

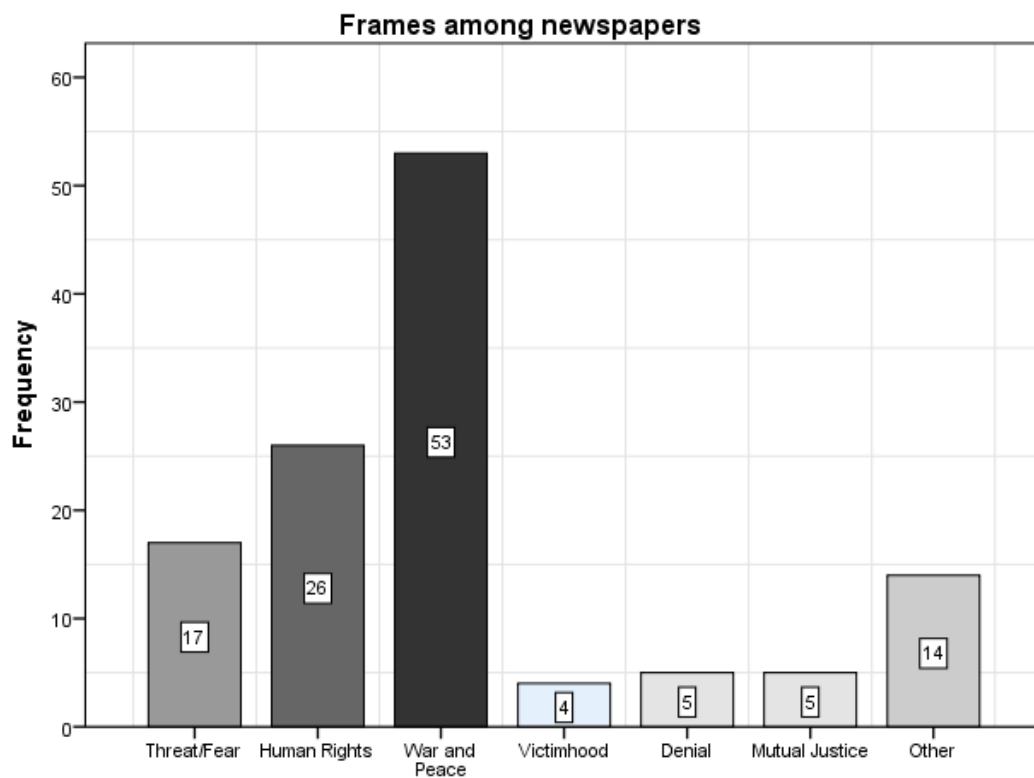
## APPENDIX C — TABLES AND FIGURES



**Figure 1: Number of news articles published by U.S. and British newspapers 1993-2017.**



**Figure 2: Percentage of news articles published by each newspaper.**



**Figure 3: Percentage of frames in articles**

**Table 1: Numbers and percent of frames in articles**

Frame	Frequency	Percent
Threat/ Fear	17	13.7
Human Rights	25	20.2
War and Peace	53	42.7
Victimhood	4	3.2
Denial	6	4.8
Mutual Justice	5	4.0
Other	14	11.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 2: Numbers and Percent of News Frames Among All Newspapers.**

		British Newspapers		American newspapers	
		The Times	The Guardian	The Washington Post	The New York Times
Frame Code	Frame	Cases	Cases	Cases	Cases
1	Threat/ Fear	4 (22.2%)	1 (4.5%)	7 (17.1%)	5 (11.6%)
2	Human Rights	4 (22.2%)	6 (27.3%)	7 (17.1%)	9 (20.9%)
3	War and Peace	7 (38.9%)	12 (54.5%)	19 (46.3%)	15 (34.9%)
4	Victimhood	0 (0.0%)	1 (4.5%)	1 (2.4%)	2 (4.7%)
5	Denial	2 (11.1%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (4.9%)	1 (2.3%)
6	Mutual Justice	0 (0.0%)	1 (4.5%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (9.3%)
7	Other	1 (5.6%)	1 (4.5%)	5 (12.2%)	7 (16.3%)
Total		18	22	41	43

**Table 3: Frequency and Percent of Tone**

Tone	Frequency	Percent
Neutral	71	57.3
Positive	23	18.5
Negative	30	24.2



Total	124	100.0
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**Table 4 Frequency and Percent of Sources**

<b>Dominant Source</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Domestic	99	(79.8%)
Palestinian and Israelis	111	(89.5%)
International	101	(81.5%)
Unofficial	53	(42.7%)
Document	94	(75.8%)

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